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wealthy county, had a negro sheriff, a negro chancery clerk, circuit clerk, two negroes in the legislature, and three on the board of supervisors. The chancery clerk said he "could write a little." One member of the board was a native white. All the other county officers were carpet-baggers—the assessor from Iowa, the circuit judge from Pennsylvania, the chancellor from New Hampshire. The salaries of most local offices had been raised to very handsome figures. Some of the sheriffs got from fifteen to twenty thousand a year. Crosby, the negro sheriff of Warren county, the forcible ejection of whom from office was the main provocation to the Vicksburg rioters of 1874, could not write a return, and the signatures on his bond were all made with marks except one, and that was a married woman's, whose signature did not bind her.

W. G. BROWN.

Asia and Europe. Studies presenting the conclusions formed by the author in a long life devoted to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe. By MEREDITH TOWNSEND. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1901. Pp. xii, 388.)

As the subtitle of this book indicates the author has given long and close attention to the fascinating subject of the relations between Orient and Occident, which his life-work for a time afforded him the opportunity of studying at first-hand. In the presentation of his views, Mr. Townsend rarely leaves the sound basis of personal observation or historical experience, and even in the few instances where he allows himself to indulge in forecasts, he simply draws the logical conclusions of facts and conditions which he has found to exist. As few writers have the experience and insight necessary for the discussion of so broad and far-reaching a subject, the views of a man who has enjoyed such opportunities will claim wide attention, although they cannot of course be assured of universal assent. While Mr. Townsend is not an historian, inasmuch as he does not present any sequence of events but rather discusses and illustrates tendencies, still his work is of importance to the historical student as a commentary on the political, social, and philosophical movements in the orient, and especially in India, during the last half century. The author does not go into any detailed critical or technical discussion of actual systems of government, or of administrative measures, his point of view being neither political nor economic, but psychological; in the irreconcilable characteristics of the general mental constitution of the eastern and western races, which he attempts to analyse, he sees an insurmountable barrier which no assimilating efforts can level to the ground. As the book is composed of a series of contributions to English reviews, covering a period of several decades, the character of its contents is somewhat fragmentary, and the reader must gather from various parts the author's opinion on any given topic. Often we would gladly know without having to consult Poole's *Index* at what time the various essays were written, in order to avoid the feeling of encountering anach-

ronisms with respect to the date of imprint. The papers dealing with the Arabs and the negroes are based on less direct knowledge than the other parts of the book and the opinions expressed in them need not here be further considered.

Notwithstanding his pessimistic view of the future relations of East to West, the author does full justice to the remarkable administrative work performed by England, when he says that it is "the most marvelous example the world has ever seen of governing human beings through abstract principles." Still the conquest of India and Asia he does not consider permanent, nor has it in his opinion brought unmixed blessing to the native races. The Westerner has made but a very superficial impression on the Oriental in the past, and present conditions are even less favorable than those of the past for the formation of a closer personal relationship. White men are merely sojourners in India, and an insurrection against their rule may occur at any time, and will occur—the author thinks—"within a month of our sustaining any defeat severe enough to be recognized as a defeat in the Indian bazaars." The masses of India, who have benefited most from the British rule of law and order, are too passive and inert to form political opinions; they, therefore, have no appreciation of the benefits conferred; on the contrary they are dissatisfied because they have been rendered liable to eviction from their ancestral holdings, the one oppression which they consider intolerable. This is a result of the general enforcement of the obligation of contract, and in this respect the masses have not been benefited by the establishment of justice. The upper classes either strive for place, and place is disappointing, because under British rule it does not imply that kind of power which an Oriental values, the power of punishing his enemies and rewarding his friends; or they hold coldly aloof, mourning the lost opportunities of rising rapidly to power. Those who have received a European education are often the most intensely hostile to English rule. While it is not true that the Orientals dislike justice, a slow and intricate manner of procedure in civil and criminal cases, with repeated opportunities for appeal, does not enlist their respect; they demand rapid, inexpensive, final justice, and look back with regret to the days when cases were disposed of summarily by the native ruler, forgetting all the while the terrible oppression that usually accompanied this system. "It will take three centuries at least for the idea of government by law to filter in its full strength down to the Indian masses." One of the most unhappy results of the conquest is that a torpor has seized the higher intellectual life of India, and that power in the application of art knowledge is becoming rare.

The characteristics of the Oriental mind, which differentiate it so radically from that of the West that even mutual understanding seems impossible, are all the outgrowth of that subjectivity which leads the Oriental to construct his world *a priori* upon some philosophical model and without regard to practical results. The mental attitude of the Oriental towards nature is one of passiveness and humble submission to all her cap-

rices and majestic cruelties. Natural catastrophies in the orient are of such size as to strike terror into man and to stifle the thought of conquering or controlling the forces of nature. Hence, the Oriental submits in general to the established order, and a policy of reform does not appeal to him. His political world he assimilates to his ideas of the universe, which he imagines as controlled by some irresponsible deity. Thus government is in its essence divine, irresponsible, not a mere matter of business and calculation. Orientals readily accept the leadership of great men, they are true hero-worshippers. Their moral judgments are not fixed, but vary with the castes and with the conditions of life. Falsehood is looked upon in the spirit of the Gascon as "an exercise of the intellect like another to be judged by its object and its success." When the will of an Oriental has seized upon a certain purpose it closes with a fatal grip, and no consequence will deter it; in this manner the usual submissiveness at times gives way to a stormy violence which hurls the masses against established institutions. Ordinarily, they are submissive even under great oppression and extortion; their abstemiousness is the despair of the ministers of finance, who can find nothing to tax, and it renders them physically weak as it is in many cases synonymous with constant under-nourishment. Meanwhile, they take life as it comes in a gentle spirit of humorousness. The author speaks of Dhuleep Singh as a typical Asiatic; educated in Europe and for a time adopting completely the ways and thoughts of the West, this native prince suddenly dropped the whole varnish of western civilization and started on a crusade of vengeance against England. Thus, in general, the acquisition of Western culture and learning by the Oriental is but superficial and does not deeply modify his character.

The author contends, contrary to the usual assumption, that patriotism does exist in the orient, and instances in support of his view the pride of the Bengalee in the past grandeur of his country. It would, however, seem that, while a certain attachment to their country and its history exists among Orientals, they have not, with the exception of the Japanese, developed that habit which to quote Lecky "men acquire of regarding their nation as a great organic whole, identifying themselves with its fortunes in the past as in the present, and looking forward to its future destinies." Mr. Townsend admits that the patriotism of the orient is similar to that of the Middle Ages; patriotism, however, does not get its full meaning—the recognition of membership in a larger organic unity—until the city state has been reached in political development, and this stage the orient has not as yet attained to.

Race psychology is a subject of such elusiveness that an attempt to deal with it outside of the art in which Lafcadio Hearn is a master will always be approached with caution. Mr. Townsend has, however, infused so much of direct observation and of careful reflection into his work, that it will be received with great respect. Together with Mr. Theodor Morrison's *Imperial Rule in India*, and Kipling's portrayals of native habits of mind, it forms a strong indictment of the policy of

introducing the western mechanism of government and civilization into the orient. We are in great need of a scientific study of the development of Indian administration and its influence on native society—a work which will demand not only a technical mastery of institutions, but before all an understanding of the psychological difficulties which Mr. Townsend has suggested. We might wish for our own sake that he had discussed more in detail some of the political measures of the last two decades in their relations to native life, or that he had given us his views on the results of the introduction of western *industrial* civilization in the orient, with its cardinal idea of a uniform natural law, free from caprice—an idea of great potentiality for radically influencing the Oriental mind; but we are grateful to him for the stimulating and suggestive thoughts he has communicated to us, and for such apt expressions as “contemptuous guardianship”—a fit pendant to the “ironical allegiance” so much spoken of in former days.

PAUL S. REINSCH.

The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom. By LEONARD COURTNEY. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. viii, 383.)

THIS book, as the title indicates, treats of the existing political institutions of the British Empire. It is, however, far more than a mere descriptive handbook. Each institution is presented in an appropriate historical setting and the successive stages of recent development recounted in outline, sufficient to explain current facts. The various defects and inconsistencies of the existing machinery of government are also pointed out and possible remedies suggested.

The plan of treatment is admirable. Part I. is occupied with the consideration of Parliament—Crown, Lords and Commons—as the organ through which the will of the nation seeks formal and final expression; Part II. with the consideration of the institutions subordinate to Parliament—the judiciary, the church, and the various organizations for local administration; Part III. with the relations of Parliament to the Empire, and to foreign powers. Under this head are also treated the local institutions of the several kinds of colonies, the question of ultimate federation, and the possible result of the attempt to govern alien races from Westminster. A chapter is given to the delicate machinery by which treaties and other conventions are made with foreign powers, and a final chapter to the possibilities of the British Constitution in the way of future growth.

In a work of this character where the demands of severe condensation are paramount, one hesitates to raise an issue with an author who is evidently so well possessed of the matter in hand. Some statements, however, certainly need qualification. For example, after speaking of the ancient origin of the parish, the author proceeds to consider it as the unit in political organization, a function of the parish which is by no means ancient, but belongs rather to comparatively recent times. So